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WAR & PEACE

Korea rout leaves Truman with A-bomb but no allies

THE twin pillars of the U.S.'s post-FDR foreign policy—military containment and no negotiations with Russia—collapsed last week. Seated amid the ruins, Washington policy-makers were left "in complete diplomatic isolation" (CBS's Eric Sevareid) by the refusal of British Premier Attlee, as spokesman for all the U.S.'s Atlantic allies, to accept the Truman-Acheson doctrine that war is necessary. From this isolation the only escape seemed to be retreat. If the U.S. made war, it would do so alone, since, as Walter Lippmann wrote,

> . . . governments which might feel in honor bound to follow us could not carry their peoples with them.

The Truman-Attlee decision in Washington to negotiate a Korean settlement, and the swift British-French-U.S. move in Paris to accept Russia's proposal for a four-power conference (see p. 4), suggested a partial retreat may already be under way. The first marked the practical end of containment, forced by the failure of three-fourths of the Atlantic bloc's strength to "contain" a small segment of the Communist world. The second, the practical abandonment of the doctrine that negotiations must await creation of "areas of strength" (i.e., sufficient U.S. strength to dictate to the Soviet bloc)—a doctrine used for three years to reject all Soviet peace proposals.

"NATIONAL EMERGENCY": The picture in Korea became darker by the hour. Unofficial reports said the core of the U.S. Army was chewed up; Tokyo reported that an all-Korea evacuation appeared in the making. To cover the military disaster and the stinging diplomatic defeat, the Administration moved—amid threats to bomb and blockade China and loud talk of "national peril"—to "get tough" at home.

Front, Brussels

U. S. Far Eastern policy

Capping a week of inspired rumors, Defense Secy. Marshall told Congress the President was considering a declaration of "national emergency." Heavy pressure for such a declaration came, the **Wall St. Journal** said, from military men and diplomats who believe "it is needed to show the U.S. 'means business'." Chief effect would be "an atmosphere" conducive to full war mobilization, and "more powers" for the President which would probably include a list already drawn up by the National Security Resources Board, sanctioning censorship, broad federal control of employment, and so on. (Under existing laws, a national emergency would permit the President to suspend the 8-hour day, minimum wage provisions in some industries; establish federal control of radio, etc. For the concentration-camp provisions of the McCarran Law to come into effect there would have to be a declaration of war, an invasion of the U.S., or an insurrection within the U.S. in addition to a national emergency.)

DANK RAIN, BRAVE WORDS: Washington was knocked awry and plunged in confusion and gloom by the sudden impact of China's emergence as a great power. The best-known U.S. war correspondents were returning from Korea in ones, twos and threes and did not expect to go back. Asked by GUARDIAN's John Stone if he was returning to Korea, one said: "Hell, no.

(Continued on Page 3)

Concentration point: The United Nations

The audiences are big these days at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow, for the drama that is being played there affects all humanity. This picture was taken at a session of the Security Council. Note in the center, Paul Robeson flanked by Alphaeus Hunton (l.) and William Stanley. The earphones bring the speeches in five languages.

Let's get in step with humanity!

AT THIS WRITING, the A-bomb has not been dropped on anybody in the current crisis and probably won't be—thanks to the unflinching opposition of the almost-quarantined peace people of this country and of at least 90% of the rest of humanity. So the people of the world have made it to the safety zone again—not without casualties, to be sure: nobody knows yet the toll of Korea, on either side.

Yet this safety zone is but a temporary one. We just have time to catch our breath—but only just. Tomorrow—next month—there will be a new "crisis," created like all the other "crises" since President Roosevelt died (beginning with the trumped-up Iran "crisis" of 1946) to force the American people to accept a war policy they never wanted.

WHEN OUR LAST-BUT-ONE Secy. of Defense, James V. Forrestal, committed suicide in May, 1949—during what his physicians diagnosed as paranoid delusions that the Russians were invading America — he was proposing a "defense" budget of $45,000,000,000.

James Forrestal

The GUARDIAN noted editorially at the time:

"This obsession about Russia did not originate with James Forrestal nor has it died with him. It is Winston Churchill's whole bill of goods; it created and nourished the criminal lunacy of Goebbels and his Fuehrer. It is the phobia of the industrialist rulers of the United States, Great Britain and their satellites, to whom the U.S.S.R. represents not a physical threat but a moral one.

"The threatened 'invasion' is not one of arms but of ideas. The campaign of fear waged by press, radio, government and other institutions falling under the influence of the industrial monopolists is truly a campaign against the people themselves of the whole Western world, Americans included. . . ."

Right, or wrong?

TODAY, THE SAME BIPARTISAN administration which coughed behind its hand over Mr. Forrestal's impolitic delusions is asking, not 45, but 50 billions. They demand it (and they'll get it!) not any longer under the pretense of defending our shores but for war thousands of miles away.

The madness which sent Forrestal screaming down the street one night last year with spectral Russians on his tail is now the sole, solemn ingredient in the foreign and domestic policy of our government.

And yet the Russians still haven't fired a shot, nor lifted a finger except in verbal argument. And their patient neighbors, the Chinese, suffered Forrestal's successors to carry "defense" right up to and over their borders—6,500 miles from Washington—before they rose up in what our obsessed government is now trying to browbeat the United Nations into characterizing as "aggression."

WE HAVE THIS BRIEF breathing-spell because the Chinese have refused to be cowed by atomic threats and the world's inhabitants have emphatically declined to become casualties in Wall Street's wars. While we have it, we must take stock.

• Where would the world be today if the Chinese people had not staged a comeback against fearful odds in the last two years, to throw out rotten rule and establish their strong, united people's democracy?

• Whee would the world be today if the Russians, under continual and extreme provocation, had not disciplined themselves to forbearance of any sort of military action anywhere—while the U.S. has caused, waged or encouraged armed conflict in Greece, Israel, Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China, Formosa and Korea and intervened with spies or saboteurs or economic sanctions in every land we have been able to penetrate?

• Where would the world be today if the peoples of the rest of the world had not shown determination to have the peaceful future promised them in the vision of Franklin Roosevelt—while the people of America have suffered the Roosevelt dream of peace and progress to be dispelled by men not worthy to tie his shoes?

• HOW LONG, HOW LONG BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GET IN STEP WITH THE REST OF HUMANITY AND INSIST ON PEACE?

These are questions which must eventually be confronted by every American. Right now, only a handful—the courageous remnant of Rooseveltism represented by the Progressive Party and its components, for the most part—are confronting them.

The people as a whole are not confronting them for a very simple reason. Any such lines of inquiry are systematically excluded from press and radio, from the educational system and from the public forums of our country, governmental or otherwise.

(Continued on Page 2, Column 1)

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Getting in step with humanity

Ten open minds are far better than one

(Continued from Page 1)

THE PRIMARY TASK NOW, in our opinion as journalists and publicists, is to reopen the minds of wage-earner, consumer and youth to the possibility of economic well-being in an economy built on production for peaceful existence rather than for war or fears of war.

For the readers of this publication—who now represent about one-tenth of the professed, voting progressives of the nation—the task of reopening minds is comparatively simple. We, as progressive journalists, are leagued together for this job. The GUARDIAN could—and should!—reach ten hands for every one it now reaches. The decision to do this, the determination of ways to do it, week in and week out in the decisive months to come, can be made by you alone. There is really little more we of the GUARDIAN can say or do, to hasten you to this decision. But we shall keep talking about it anyway, so long as this primary job remains undone.

But for the leaders and economic planners of the Progressive Party there remains an equally basic function, the continued ignoring of which can waste every effort the rank and file of progressives may now make to reopen the public mind.

THAT FUNCTION IS TO DEMONSTRATE in plain words and plain figures HOW the American family can be assured of prosperity, HOW employment and high living standards can be maintained in a world wholly at peace; and how such blights as poverty, disease, discrimination and repression can be eradicated ONLY in an atmosphere of peace.

The Democrats offer the artificial and momentary prosperity of war, with its concomitants of group hatred, repression and stagnation of progress. The Republicans offer no substitute and never will. There is little difference between the two sides of Wall Street. Government by profit-takers, from whichever side of the Street, dares not look in any direction but that of the greatest profit—and the greatest profit lies in war and the garrison state, where it is decreed unpatriotic to demand that the foot be taken off your neck.

The Progressive Party, in urging that the people take command of their own government and their own destinies, must have the foresight to look beyond the making of profits for big steel, big auto, big food combines—big anything except the whole people themselves. It must, in words and figures all can understand and none can rationally challenge, chart a course to full accomplishment of government of, for and by the people. —THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Christmassy slogans

MONTROSE, CALIF.

Now! Spread the slogan everywhere! "BRING MacARTHUR HOME FOR CHRISTMAS!"

Anna Louise Strong

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Suggestion for a slogan: "BRING EVERYONE HOME BY CHRISTMAS EXCEPT MacARTHUR."

Soldier's father

Four of a kind

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The wild man of Tokyo
All upside down is he,
He liberates the people
Against their will you see.

He tells the people "Don't despair
Soon happy you will be,
I brought with me the man you loathe,
My good friend Syngman Rhee."

And while we spread our way of life
With tank and gun and plane,
Let's not forget cute Bao Dai
Of Indo-China fame.

And if the thing goes wrong again,
Don't worry, what the heck!
We always can depend (I think)
On good old Chiang Kai-shek.

Maynard Eisinger

McCarran for export

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

The GUARDIAN is one of the "hopes" strengthening us when events are too depressing. It circulates among numbers of students here. While there is still a tolerant atmosphere in Denmark, we were shocked and dumbfounded to learn that a McCarran Law (called "defense laws") is being introduced in the Storting (Congress) in Norway. On recent trips to Oslo I have found an atmosphere of anxiety, apathy and depression, but in October a spontaneous protest movement was started by 500 scientists, teachers, white-collar workers, government employes and writers. University students are working day and night to gather signatures to this protest, just as we did to get the parents' protests during the occupation when the Germans tried to Nazify the schools. The university women's association protested as a group. Thus the opposition is mainly from intellectuals, but one important union — the mechanics and shipyard workers — joined the protest.

The government uses the same method as when we fought the Atlantic Pact: appealing to "loyalty" and using the unions' leadership machinery to terrorize those wishing to oppose. But ordinary people are beginning to react and signs are many that this time it is too much to take.

Dr. Nic Waal

Only national voice?

PITTSBURGH, PA.

I want to take this occasion to voice my disagreement with your statement in the issue of Oct. 23, "Where We Stand." It seems to me that you are following the erroneous tactic and strategy of George Seldes in his In Fact when you make the claim that the GUARDIAN is the only national voice that speaks of peace and lays bare the brazen manipulations of mony power. How about the Worker daily and Sunday that have been fighting for peace and for the welfare of the American people for well over a quarter of a century. I don't believe that statement was at all necessary to prove how vitally important the GUARDIAN is and that it has more than justified its existence.

To satisfy you that my criticism is sincere and serious I am enclosing herewith a check for $5, for which I want you to send me a bundle of five and I am going to help you build the GUARDIAN into a million.

I. M. Ray

The Worker is primarily a New York daily. The GUARDIAN circulates in 48 states with only a small percentage of readers in N. Y. Hence "the only national voice. . . ." Ed.

No difference

RIO LINDA, CALIF.

In our so-called "free elections" it is interesting to note that the candidates seeking office are either Democrat or Republican. It is now obvious to the more intelligent citizens that these old terms designate simply two political groups that are not fundamentally different. The masses are very largely without political expression.

The average citizen of the U.S. today is at the absolute mercy of the large corporations, which not only control and operate the means of production, but also either directly or indirectly control the Congress of the nation.

Robert Schertle

CIO—then and now

TOOELE, UTAH

Yes, we lost Sen. Thomas here in Utah and the CIO ran big ads in the Salt Lake papers—and in other capitalist papers through the state—reading, "The CIO is back of Sen. Thomas." Just as though it was the organization (today) that it was when John L. Lewis stepped out and Phil Murray took over and began his purge of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union.

T. P. Durkin

Don't go backward

ST. MARYS, WISC.

I hope neither you nor Elmer Benson desert us as apparently Wallace and Rogge have done. I think you are an outstanding inhibitive force against this country's becoming a "backward" country similar to the ones we are now professing we want to "liberate."

O. M. Powell

From Carolina, $25

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

The outcome of the recent election has made the GUARDIAN seem more indispensable than ever to the progressive cause. To help along in what we know is a tough struggle for existence we enclose check for $25, regretting that we cannot make it larger.

Lucy and Edwin Bjorkman

ELMER A. BENSON ASKS

Farm and labor leaders: Speak up for sanity!

Elmer A. Benson, former governor of Minnesota and national chairman of the Progressive Party, sent this letter last week to the six chief farm and labor leaders of the U.S.

APPLETON, MINN.

REGARDLESS of differences in the past, it seems to me the time has come for our leading farm and labor leaders to speak up against our frightful foreign policy that is leading to World War III and destroying the social and economic gains farmers and workers have won during the past 20 years. Consequently, I am writing to you and to other farm and labor leaders urging immediate expressions for the cause of peace.

Specifically, I am suggesting a four-point program around which agreement should be possible at this time.

(1). Demand the recall of Gen. MacArthur as a man with a 19th century imperialist mentality who has no business in the 20th century Far East that desires independence and reforms. MacArthur is the man who helped "solve" the demands of hungry World War I veterans by shooting them down. He can hardly be regarded as an objective observer of Far Eastern social problems because of his relation by marriage to the J. P. Morgan interests and his own holdings in minerals, industries and land in the Philippines. He was one of the militarists considered to play the role of an American Hitler in 1933 by a small American Legion and Wall Street clique opposed to Roosevelt's New Deal. . . . All his life he has had a record of opposing democracy.

(2). Cease fire and negotiate a peaceful settlement in Korea. Regardless of how the blame might later be assessed as to the cause of the war, there is nothing to be gained by its continuation except death and destruction and a greater danger of destroying all humanity with atom bombs.

(3). Demand that Acheson abandon the Ku Klux Klan foreign policy begun by Dixiecrat James Byrnes of arming corrupt, fascist-type governments all over the world. Allied with the Dixiecrats as chief supporters of the "get tough" foreign policy are the old pre-war isolationists and appeasers of Hitler and Franco. Their policy will bring war and fascist dictatorships wherever it operates.

Just as the Robber Barons despoiled the natural resources of the American continent during the last century, the big money men who manipulate our economy today have ambitions to keep or gain an economic stranglehold over all the world, threatening a human barbecue with atom bombs if their wishes are not met. Are the Wall Street investments of the Far East worth the life of a single American youth? Neither taxes for guns and tanks nor death for our sons to satisfy the materialistic greed of our bankers is the path to human progress.

(4). Demand a new foreign policy based on the rights of each nation to determine their own form of government without outside influence and on a policy of world disarmament among all nations. Just as we realize the groundlessness of charges that the New Deal programs are socialistic or communistic, we must also come to understand and cease to fear the reforms instituted by the real socialistic and communist governments abroad, whether we agree with these reforms or not. With better understanding of other governments and societies, and with immediate steps toward world disarmament among all nations, it will be possible for the nations to live peaceably together and achieve new heights of social and moral progress.

Time is running short. "Silence is consent," and blood will be on our hands if the worst comes to pass due to our own silence. The war crowd is the same crowd that is seeking to destroy labor unions, co-ops, our farm programs and civil rights here at home. They will succeed with their evil domestic program to the extent that they succeed with their evil foreign policy. So along with peace in the world, democracy at home is also at stake. Can any of us be silent?

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Korean disaster leaves Truman with A-bomb but without allies

(Continued from Page 1)

The boss is holding us here for assignment to the hot spots when the real war begins." That, Stone wrote,

> . . . was symbolic of Washington's thinking as a dark, dank rain fell on the capital on the 9th anniversary of Pearl Harbor and the President and Prime Minister held their strategy talks. Despite the brave words of Truman and Attlee a thousand individual items pointed to one conclusion—they are prepared for evacuation of Korea. A thousand other items suggested that they would retreat from Korea only to prepare for World War III. The thousand or so newsmen who packed themselves like sardines into the National Press Club ballroom to hear Attlee's luncheon speech were a noncommittal lot. But relaxing newsmen in the Press Club bar, usually demanding a housecleaning of reds and shooting Harry Bridges, were now demanding to know what the hell our boys were doing in Korea anyhow and why Truman didn't bring them home by Christmas as MacArthur had promised.

Attlee's planned two-day visit stretched into five. With a mandate from Western Europe to prevent a U.S. war on China, he

> . . . clearly had to struggle around the great conference table in the Cabinet room of the White House, to resist some of the pressure exerted on him by Mr. Truman and some of his highest advisers. (N.Y. Herald Tribune.)

The President was apparently determined on "punishing" China by a "limited war", the **Tribune** said. Attlee, once dubbed "a sheep in sheep's clothing" by Winston Churchill, was strengthened by Canadian Foreign Minister Lester Pearson's demand in a radio talk during the conference's first days, for an overall Far Eastern settlement based on recognizing Peking as the real government of China.

Sapilki, Warsaw

Acheson: ". . . We have unanimously agreed. . . ."

THE MAN WITH THE BOMB: The Truman-Acheson demand for "limited war" (suggestions: economic and naval blockade, continuous air bombardment of coastal cities, occasional A-bombs to show the Chinese "aggression doesn't pay") so horrified the Commonwealth and Western Europe, wrote the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston, "that it was agreed to place the idea aside for the time being." The final communique found Truman and Attlee agreeing on steps to strengthen the Western war machine in Europe, "no appeasement" in Korea, willingess to negotiate on "UN priciples" and vague promises for equitable distribution of strategic war materials.

But Truman refused to give Britain any say in the use of A-bombs; he would only "inform" Attlee if he decided to drop them. When the press last week published the text of a Truman letter to a Washington music critic, threatening to punch the critic's nose for making an honest appraisal of Margaret Truman's singing, the civilized world was appalled at the thought that the decision which might half obliterate humanity remained in such hands.

Britain also appeared to make a basic concession in going along with the Washington view that Taiwan (Formosa) is a UN problem and in agreeing to tighten exports to China. During the talks the U.S. made a first "limited war" move by imposing a complete embargo on China trade. The embargo included shipments to the British port of Hong Kong, which as a result came to an economic standstill.

NEWS FROM KOREA
"We regret to inform you . . ."

FATIGUE IN KOREA
A GI's dream of home?

THE WORLD REBELS: More important than the Truman-Attlee agreements was the basic disagreement on Far Eastern policy, recorded in the communique reportedly on Attlee's insistence. Britain stuck by its policy that China must be recognized and admitted to the UN. The N.Y. **Times'** Reston conceded that "all the official jargon" could not erase the fundamental differences between the U.S. and the western world. He wrote:

> Our Canadian neighbors are more strongly opposed to the Acheson Far Eastern policy now than the British. Western Europe is against us in this argument. . . . There is . . . something of a rebellion in the making within the Western coalition against the "tough" U.S. policy in the Far East. . . . The U.S. is being charged by influential officials within the Western coalition with having adopted a provocative diplomacy toward Peiping [Peking], with having stirred up forces the U.S. could not handle, and with proposing now to enter into a policy of "limited war" after "limited negotiations." The Western Allies are not going to go along this time.

In a brutally frank broadcast from London, Howard K. Smith of CBS said the Attlee-Truman communique "has papered over the crack [in the Western coalition] but not removed it." He suggested the world begin to get used to the concept of the "Big Three". (No longer the Big 2; Big 3 equals U.S., Russia and China, a 2 to 1 proposition.)

Arabs, Asians form "Peace Front" at UN

AT Lake Success, where a "meditation room" resembling a mortician's chapel was set up for delegates last week following pressure by U.S. religious groups on Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie, reactions to the Truman-Attlee communique were funereal. Western delegations had hoped for a stronger stand by Attlee. But 13 Arab and Asian nations, organized into a "peace front" by India's Sir Benegal Rau, were angry that the communique made no reference to their efforts for peace talks.

Something of a revolt against U.S. policy had got under way at UN during the week of the talks. U.S. delegate Austin's plea (made, one paper said, in "the old guard dies but never surrenders" spirit), that the Assembly rush through a resolution demanding in effect that China withdraw to its frontiers before any negotiations begin, was stymied by an organized "go-slow" movement.

Back of the slowdown was the appeal of the 13 to China to halt on the 38th Parallel to give time for negotiations. The appeal was signed by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen. Other nations including South Africa later joined them. (Seven of the 13 had abstained when the Assembly voted to let MacArthur cross the Parallel.) Egyptian delegate Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secy. General of the Arab League, further suggested in a letter to Trygve Lie a truce in Korea and in the cold war and Stalin-Truman talks on neutral soil. Cairo reports said Egypt would recognize New China and support its admission to the UN if it stopped at the Parallel.

CHINA'S RESPONSE: All week talks went on behind closed doors among the Arab, Asian and British Commonwealth delegations. India's U.S. Ambassador Madame Pandit shuttled between New York and Washington almost every day, visiting in turn Attlee, Peking's delegation chief Wu, and Sir Benegal, who in turn held meetings with the 13 in his home. Despite the unbending U.S. stand, which made it difficult for the "peace nations" to offer China any guarantees, Sir Benegal was able to announce by the weekend that China was "seriously considering" the appeal of the 13.

From New Delhi came reports that China would negotiate if it had equal status at the conference table and if all Far Eastern problems were discussed. Sir Benegal said Wu had told him China's response to the appeal would be clear to the world, indicating that China would probably halt at the Parallel without formal announcement. India will introduce a cease-fire resolution in the Assembly this week.

European protest mounts; Washington is deaf

AROUND the world U.S. prestige was ebbing. The N.Y. **Times** found "the decline of American prestige . . . little short of disastrous" in France; "severely damaged" in Italy; "suffering immensely" in India; "lost" in Austria; and in the Arab world a conviction "that the U.S. has blundered."

In Paris the U.S. Embassy was flooded with A-bomb protests. French police and U.S. Marines guarded the Embassy from a stream of petitioners. In London petitions against the A-bomb were sent to 10 Downing St. in one day by a group of shop stewards representing 1,000 building workers, by members of the Youth Parliament of a London borough, by the Intl. Women's Day Committee, and the Socialist Medical Assn. At the House of Commons 1,000 demonstrators "made up of students and women of various political persuasions" (N.Y. **Times**) tried to present a petition signed by 1,300,000 Britons calling for a five-power conference to outlaw the A-bomb.

GENERAL MacARTHUR
The grin vanished

BULLETIN

Constitution upheld

THE Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was restored Monday by the U.S. Supreme Court. In an 8-0 decision the court ruled that persons have a right to refuse to answer questions about their political affiliations before grand juries and Congressional committees, if they base their refusal on the grounds that an answer might be self-incriminating.

Washington Post

"Chief, I think next year we can take Washington."

Two thousand turned out for the Natl. Peace Council's meeting in London to protest war with China. Engineers at John Brown's shipyard in Clydebank unanimously voted to strike if an A-bomb is dropped on China or Korea. Telegrams from unions, university clubs, religious organizations, factories, poured into Downing St. protesting Truman's threat to use the A-bomb.

"DEAR BOB—I'M READY": If rising world-wide peace sentiment was heard in Washington, there was no sign of it. Washington statesmen on Capitol Hill howled for use of the A-bomb and Secy. Acheson's scalp. Sen. Wayne Morse (R-Ore.), elected with CIO backing, wanted to drop bombs on Moscow. Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) one-time "liberal" professor and member of Americans for Democratic Action, said: "We should use the atom bomb against purely military forces." Dixiecrat Stennis of Mississippi called for the U.S. to "strike with everything we have or get out."

Sen. Ferguson (R-Mich.) demanded use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops. So did Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.) who also wanted A-bombs on China and expulsion of Russia from the UN. (Chiang cabled movie star Robert Montgomery he was ready to launch an invasion of China's mainland if he got UN air and naval support.) Sen. McCarthy demanded war on China and the ouster of George Marshall as Defense Secretary. A move to oust Acheson initiated by N.Y.'s Sen. Ives petered out when Republican strategists decided it might boomerang politically.

A European journalist who passed the fateful week in Washington was stunned. "Who makes your policy?" he asked; "can anything happen?"

"IF ANYWHERE": Warning of the "fearful damage" done U.S. institutions by the "great mistake" of the Truman Doctrine, Walter Lippmann wrote:

(Continued on following page)

THE EMPHASIS SHIFTS TO EUROPE

Washington is rearming a reluctant Germany as France presses for talks with Russia

BY the second day of the Truman-Attlee talks in Washington, it had been concluded that the battle in Korea was "virtually lost" (James Reston, N. Y. **Times**); the cold-war emphasis shifted almost overnight back to Europe. Now in prospect as a "counter-blow to Soviet aggression" (no Soviet soldier is fighting anywhere) is a U. S. attempt at a vast stepping-up of the militarization of Western European countries, particularly West Germany.

The Dover Group of Boston millionaires, first big business spokesmen to see the handwriting on the Korean wall (GUARDIAN, Dec. 6), called last week for the U.S. to station "at least 20 divisions" of troops in France, Belgium and Holland. U.S. High Commissioner McCloy said in Frankfurt that a rearmed West Germany must be given full partnership in European affairs, with entry into all international organizations, including presumably the UN. Secy. Acheson reportedly told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that he "now proposes to make Germany an equal ally in every respect."

Deutschlandsstimme, Berlin
SCHUMACHER: "We are prepared to carry weapons again..."

SCHUMACHER'S CRUSADE: Washington's task will be complicated by political hurdles all along the road. The central problem is how to get Germany actively into the Western military camp.

The N.Y. **Times** reported Dec. 6 from Frankfurt that "despite U.S. reverses in Korea there is little indication that the idea of a national army is any more popular here than a month ago." Last month elections in three states of West Germany gave extraordinary majorities to the Social Democrats whose chief plank was opposition to rearmament plans as proposed.

That this vote represented genuine hostility by the German people to any kind of rearming was generally agreed. But the Social Democrats under Kurt Schumacher were taking advantage of peace sentiment to make political hay. Actually all that the bitterly anti-Soviet Socialist leaders are opposed to is West German Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union, now in power. Last August, Schumacher set the price for Germany's military contribution to the West: sufficient Anglo-American forces in Europe to "defend Germany in the East" —that is, to launch a crusade to regain Germany's lost territories.

"DEMOCRACY" WITH A SMELL: The N. Y. **Herald Tribune's** Walter Lippmann (just returned from a 2-month European tour) conceded frankly that Germans take concessions about political equality for granted and that substantial West German rearmament

> . . . can be had, if at all, only by an all-out American strategic commitment not only to defend Western Europe but to liberate Eastern Europe.

Although the U. S. has not made and could not make any such commitment publicly, West German rearmament is becoming an accomplished fact: the Western High Commissioners issued their order in early October (the fact leaked out through a U. S. officer's indiscretion, was not reported in the press) and the necessary legislation has been prepared.

These developments are going on against the background of a huge West German corruption scandal involving almost all groups in the Bonn parliament, for exposing which the GUARDIAN's correspondent Wilhelm Karl Gerst was excluded from investigating committee sessions. It was disclosed that over 2,000,000 marks had changed hands and possibly one-

Liberation, Paris
Peek-a-boo!

fourth of all members of the Bonn parliament had accepted bribes. Other current manifestations of West German "democracy" are a ten-month jail sentence given to the public prosecutor of Darmstadt for embezzlement in office, and sentences of up to three years given by a U. S. military court in Nuremberg to 15 young Germans who joined in peace demonstrations.

FRENCH WALLFLOWERS: An equally formidable hurdle is France, where the Soviet note of Nov. 3 urging four-power agreement to keep Germany demilitarized and to unify it and sign a peace treaty met favorable response even in the Cabinet. Speeches by Premier Pleven and Foreign Minister Schuman (the most pro-U. S. minister) urged acceptance of the Soviet suggestion, while France continued to hold up the Atlantic Pact by its opposition to German rearming. French parliamentary debate on various schemes of German rearmament revealed an almost unanimous view that war with Russia is not inevitable. Lippmann reported:

> French insistence that German troops shall have no autonomy stems not from the ancient fear that a German army would march against Paris; it stems from an accurate and contemporary realization that a German army would wish to march, and to drag along with it all the rest of us, against Koenigsberg and Warsaw.

Last week's European revolt against U. S. policy swung the British government to the French view on the Soviet proposal. The three Western powers drew up an answer in Paris last weekend. The influential **Le Monde** regretted that their answer "should come so late." They agreed to demand a conference on East-West problems in general rather than specifically German problems.

Under extreme U. S. pressure the French Cabinet last week yielded slightly to the U. S. view on arming Germans. The N. Y. **Times'** Harold Callender reported the concessions were made "with great reluctance" and only because the Cabinet "wanted to do nothing to prolong a rift within the Atlantic group of nations in this time of Far Eastern crisis." But Parliament had yet to approve the concessions.

A NEW CHARLEMAGNE? In France, where the Communist Party remains the largest single political group, and where anti-American sentiment is growing, the U.S.-dominated government is seeking a way to destroy Communist influence. It has agreed to present a bill for "electoral reform" changing the present proportional system in such a way as greatly to weaken the Communists and strengthen the de Gaullists. Such "reform" would also weaken the Catholic Mouvement Republicain Populaire party, but according to an official U. S. source in Paris, the MRP would go over to de Gaulle and its leader, ex-Premier Bidault, become a Gaullist lieutenant.

The "reform" will be a first step toward isolating the Communists, whose press and meetings would then be suppressed. For this the Communists are preparing themselves; their new chief to replace ailing Maurice Thorez (now hospitalized in Moscow) may be Auguste LeCoeur, a young, tough leader who is reportedly prepared to take over when the new phase begins.

It seems clear that grand-scale U. S. militarization in Europe cannot be put over without strong-man rule in France. Gen. de Gaulle has a long record of unpopularity in Washington but, as the only effective candidate for the job, his "reconstruction" under U. S. auspices has begun. Admired by significant nationalist-militarist elements in Germany, de Gaulle might be able—if anyone could do it—to help Washington's policy by building that French-German union that he himself has described as a new version of the Holy Roman Empire, with himself in the role of Charlemagne.

Continued from preceding page

> It is no longer clear where, if anywhere, resides the authority to conduct the foreign relations of the U. S.

Lippmann called for a fundamental re-evaluation of U.S. policy. No such re-evaluation was apparent in Washington, but at least the figure of Gen. MacArthur was no longer sacrosanct. The N. Y. **Times** reported

> . . . a feeling among high Administration sources of intense bitterness against Gen. Douglas MacArthur. It was evident that the October honeymoon at Wake Island was over. The intensity of the feeling against him exceeded even the determined anti-pathy of the Republican anti-Acheson group in Congress. [Some officials would like to oust MacArthur], but they plainly were flabbergasted over how you tear down the Colossus of the Pacific.

The **Times** said that at Wake Island MacArthur had given "positive and definite" assurances that China would not intervene, and promised to "slaughter" any Chinese who came across the Yalu. Even the Republican N. Y. **Herald Tribune** practically called MacArthur a liar in deriding his steadily multiplying figures on the size of the Chinese force in Korea.

Evidence that MacArthur's offensive was a political one designed to prevent a peace settlement in the UN was appearing in many papers. The public had yet to learn the price in human lives of MacArthur's adventure and Truman's irresponsibility.

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PEACE

All over U. S. people demand an end to bloodshed

UNITED Nations attendants were surprised when a chartered bus rolled up at Lake Success with 60 mothers and their children from New York's East Side, with a plea to delegates to "bring about peace and a cease-fire order in Korea." The mothers belonged to no organization; their pilgrimage had come about spontaneously.

All around the nation groups of people were reacting similarly. In Birmingham, Ala., 300 relatives of men in the armed forces attended a meeting sponsored by the local Marine Corps League auxiliary and sent wires to Washington leaders urging them to "evacuate our troops immediately." Said a United Press report:

> Many of the parents expressed their anxiety in spontaneous tearful speeches. . . . They blamed "bad leadership" for the plight of "our boys." . . . Some were so choked with emotion they could hardly talk.

The spontaneity of such actions was the key to a new situation in the U.S. Organized peace groups till now had worked under the handicaps of official persecution and press denunciation; many who were for peace had been intimidated into silence and inaction. The persecution and the denunciation were still present. But the military fiasco in Korea and Harry Truman's atom-bomb threat left no choice: if peace was to be preserved, all must fight for it. Last week thousands upon thousands of new forces were in action.

Pokoj means Peace

This drawing, by 8-year-old Danuta Waritow, was sent to us by George Wheeler, who covered the Warsaw Peace Congress for the GUARDIAN. "It is an indication," says Wheeler, "of what goes on in the minds of Polish children. Danuta sat next to me one afternoon at the Congress, tried the earphones and then started drawing. Perhaps the reason she thinks that all children are for peace is that her father was killed at Stalingrad."

THE BIG PUSH: The organized groups were first to react. American Women for Peace filled UN corridors with 2,000 followers the day after Truman rattled the A-bomb; 200 young people staged a sit-down there; the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives sent crackling protests to Washington; U.S. delegates to the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw were cabled to hurry home to give a first report to a peace rally Monday, Dec. 11, at New York City's Golden Gate Ballroom. The Maryland Committee for Peace mustered 62 of the city's leading citizens to wire world leaders for an immediate cease fire order in Korea. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy swung into intensified action. The Progressive Party everywhere demanded peaceful settlement of the world's crisis. A recent West Coast organization, Vets for Peace, began to spread, last week set up a chapter in New York City. A nationwide Young People's General Assembly for Peace was set for Chicago for Jan. 5-7 with more than 70 initiating sponsors. The Chicago Labor Conference for Peace held a large rally; the New York Labor Conference called together 115 delegates to launch a petition drive in the city's shops and factories demanding an armistice in Korea and a Big Five meeting to settle world problems.

In Asbury Park, N.J., a group of 24 citizens paid for a newspaper advertisement urging telegrams to the President demanding peace; in Great Falls, Mont., a group of citizens paid for a pamphlet titled "Farmers and the Korean War"; in hundreds of communities like actions were being taken.

OUTLAW THE BOMB: Hourly new groups entered the fight against the A-bomb. In Buffalo 217 leading citizens in the fields of religion, education and law wired the President to settle the war peaceably and outlaw the bomb; their spokesman, Prof. Richard Arens of the University of Buffalo Law School, said it was a spontaneous action on only 12 hours' notice. In New York City

Algernon D. Black, leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, protested use of the bomb. In Cleveland Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, a sort of liaison man between Protestant churches and the UN, called its use "morally unjustifiable." At the University of Michigan student leaders representing religious groups set a goal of 10,000 signatures on petitions of protest. The World Affairs Council of Rhode Island surveyed state leaders, found general opposition to use of the bomb. The Ministerial Assn. and the Council of Churches of Jackson, Mich., wired protests to the President. Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch, University of Illinois professor and editor of the **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists**, said that use of the bomb "will not win the war nor friends for us."

The Episcopal League for Social Action prayed that British Premier Clement Attlee's visit to Washington would avert war. In Lawrence, Mass., 27 out of 40 members of the Greater Lawrence Ministers' Assn. met on short notice at 6:30 in the morning to wire the President to seek a peaceful solution of the Korean war. The official publication of the Boston Catholic Archdiocese, **The Pilot**, wrote:

JOHN A. KINGSBURY
Sketched at the World Peace Congress at Warsaw by Paul Hogarth

> Morally speaking, the use of the atomic bomb on populated areas is indefensible since the nature of the bomb would directly bring about the death of large numbers of innocent people.

CHURCHES "APPALLED": The Akron, O., Council of Churchwomen, representing 70 Protestant denominations, warned the President that the bomb "would provoke retaliation, and initiate World War III and inevitable disaster." The New Jersey AFL State Federation of Teachers wired a protest.

In Eugene, Ore., a group of 84 Gold Star mothers and relatives of soldiers urged an end of the war. On Tuesday a group of 22 Chicago ministers, representing ten or more denominations, began an 11-hour "prayer vigil for peace." Cornell University students held a "United Nations Weekend" sponsored by 17 campus organizations for a discussion of the way to world peace. More than 200 Protestant ministers and churchmen of Seattle, Wash., formed the Seattle Emergency Peace Assembly and dispatched their own emissary to the White House and to the UN to carry their message for an end to war. In Portland, Ore., the congregations of 40 churches put 1,235 signatures on an open letter to Truman which said:

> As Christians we are appalled at suggestions that the atomic bomb be dropped. . . . We cannot reconcile a weapon of such mass slaughter with the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In the name of the Prince of Peace, we urge that the bomb not be used.

"STRAIGHT TO DISASTER": On another level there were new defections from U.S. policy in the Far East. The action of Boston's influential Dover Group (GUARDIAN, Dec. 6) in calling for withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Korea and Formosa and seating of China in the UN was duplicated last week in New York City by a group headed by James P. Warburg, financier and economist, and including Archibald MacLeish, attorney Parker McCollester and Councilman Stanley Isaacs. Their statement said:

> Surely it is now apparent that a policy of seeking to postpone negotiations for a world peace settlement until the free world's physical strength is equal to that of the Soviet orbit has failed and is leading straight to disaster.

MOTHS IN THE CURTAIN: Even the solid curtain of U. S. press support for the Korean war had gaping holes in it last week. These are some editorial excerpts:

> Boston Globe: ". . . Formal broadening of the conflict in Korea into a general struggle with China would automatically plunge the world into a total conflict. Given the grim realities in Korea today, and the present state of Europe's and our own defense structures, this would be akin to madness."
>
> Waterbury (Conn.) Republican: "If the negotiations require some status for Red China that we Americans have been totally unwilling heretofore to accept, we shall probably have to be more open-minded about it."
>
> Chicago Daily News: "MacArthur's worshippers have talked a great deal about his superior understanding of the Oriental mentality. . . . It seems possible that he may have carried over from earlier days a feeling that a haughty and imperturbable white man can glare down any number of Orientals by the mere glitter of his eye. . . . Whatever the theory, the fact seems to be that his understanding of Chinese intentions has been completely wrong."
>
> Swanton (Vt.) Courier: "Gen. MacArthur has become either senile and blind or he is one of history's greatest liars. . . . The UN commander must be recalled to Lake Success to account for his actions."
>
> Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register: "This is murder! The American soldiers who are in Korea are there unwarrantedly and illegally. . . . We are upon the brink of the most disastrous war in our history. . . . We are being plunged into that war heedlessly by a blind leadership which refused to face realities, and will admit of no possibility of mistake in their outlook."

MAN THE FORTS! Other newspapers, notably the Hearst chain, were scrambling back toward total isolationism, recommending withdrawal not only from Korea but from the UN as well. The Chicago **Tribune** editorialized:

> Instead of spending ourselves into communism we should pull in our expenditures, call out the National Guard to hold northern Canada and leave the treacherous so-called allies in Europe to their own protection.

Coplon reversal slaps FBI illegality

JUDITH COPLON, under two convictions of spying for Russia, had one of them unanimously reversed by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The court declared illegal her arrest by the FBI without a warrant, use of wiretap evidence and of evidence taken illegally from her pocketbook. It did not

dismiss the indictment, holding that "guilt is plain." The government could appeal to the Supreme Court, retry the case, or drop it, and had about two weeks to make up its mind. An appeal from another conviction in a Washington court was still to be ruled upon.

Conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury in connection with spying charges was unanimously upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals. Hiss reaffirmed his innocence, said he would appeal to the Supreme Court.

CLEAR AND PRESENT? The U.S. Supreme Court was studying the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which the Communist Party's 11 top leaders were convicted of conspiring to advocate overthrow of the government. Oral arguments before the court revolved largely around the "clear and present danger" doctrine: defense attorneys contended that trial judge Harold Medina had discarded this test first enunciated by the late Justice Holmes, and that the law is unconstitutional on its face. There was no indication when the court would hand down a ruling.

In New York City officials of the Newsdealers Assn. sought to ban the **Daily Worker** from newsstands. A court writ held off action for a time; opposition by individual newsdealers was still keeping the paper on the stands at the end of the week.

CONTEMPT IS CATCHING: In Washington five more indictments for contempt of Congress were handed down against three atomic scientists and two others for refusing to answer questions of the Un-American Activities Committee. The scientists were Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, Irving David Fox and David Joseph Bohm; the latter was promptly suspended from his post as assistant professor in Princeton's department of physics. The other two were Steve Nelson, Communist leader in Pittsburgh, and Marcel Scherer, head of the N. Y. Labor Conference for Peace. All pleaded not guilty and were released on $1,500 bail each.

Earl Browder, former Communist Party head, who had been indicted and arraigned earlier on the same charges, went to jail when he was unable to post bond. Last week Miss Margaret M. Shipman, 75-year-old former school teacher of Lee, Mass., appeared in Washington and put up $1,500 in crisp new $100 bills. She had never met Browder, knew him only by "his work and reputation," thought he should be free to prepare his own defense. Asked if she is a Communist, Miss Shipman snapped:

"That's none of your business."

AFTER 3 YEARS: Re-trial of the Trenton Six, whose convictions for murder aroused international protest, has been set for Jan. 15. The six innocent Negroes have been in prison since January, 1948, on a charge of murder they could not have committed.

REVOLT AGAINST THE LEVERING SET

1,000 refuse to sign California "loyalty" oath

Special to the GUARDIAN

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

MARGUERITE ELLIS, a pretty, white-haired California school teacher, taught Spanish to high school youth for nearly 30 years, 21 of them in the same school. On Oct. 3 the Levering Act became law and Marguerite Ellis and thousands of state, county and city public workers were declared to be civilian defense workers subject to be assigned by unknown hands to unknown tasks without additional compensation.

They were required to sign within 30 days an extensive loyalty oath declaring that they had not been within the last five years, were not now and would not in the future become members of organizations which advocated overthrow of the government by violence "or other unlawful means." If convicted of perjury after signing, they could be imprisoned up to 14 years. If they refused to sign, they would lose their pay.

SHE DIDN'T LIKE IT: Marguerite Ellis, like all other school teachers, had signed an oath of allegiance to the state and federal constitutions. She considered the new one an infringement on her democratic freedoms. On Oct. 20 she explained to her local newspaper why she would not sign. She had only four months to go before retirement, but she said:

> "If they can make this law stick, no one has tenure any more."

Miss Ellis was "relieved" of her teaching assignment.

Other teachers and public workers were stirred. Before the deadline many resigned. Others refused to sign.

● Mrs. Wiltrud Bratt, senior civil draftsman for the City and County of San Francisco Water Dept., mother of six children, three of them veterans, said:

> "Because I am for the constitution and the Bill of Rights, and will do my utmost to uphold their principles, I am hereby refraining from signing the so-called loyalty oath . . . which I consider to be unconstitutional and undemocratic. . . . I would be unable to face my family if I signed away our democratic heritage."

She was suspended from her job.

● Frank Rowe, decorated ex-paratrooper, was a part-time art instructor at San Francisco State College. Although married and father of a small child, he refused to sign:

> "I know that if the people are beaten down in silence then all sacrifices made in the name of a better world for all men will have been made in vain."

● Dr. Eason Monroe, tall, distinguished chairman of the Language Arts Division at S. F. State, on Nov. 2 joined eight others at State College as non-signers. He said:

> "I view with a sense of deep shame the occurrence of this repressive legislation in my state. I have always taken pride in the positive distinguishing characteristics in California and its people. Now California stands distinguished among the states for repression and destruction of peoples' rights."

LINUS PAULING
Personal beliefs are sacred

THEY HAVE JOINED: The number of non-signers has now passed 1,000. They plan to take their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary. Some have received their salaries for October, some have not. Some have been suspended, most have been dismissed. All have joined together in organizations for repeal of the Levering Act. By their fight the non-signing teachers and public employes have shown their courage and determination to get back to the basic democratic principles of freedom of speech and assembly: they believe loyalty cannot be reduced to a formula.

Pauling hits back

Opposition to the Levering Act by educators prompted the Legislature to set up a Senate Investigating Committee on Education. Hailed before it on two occasions was Dr. Linus Pauling, world-famous physicist and head of the chemistry engineering division of the California Institute of Technology. These are excerpts from his statement on the hearing:

> My own political views are well known. I am not a communist. I have never been a communist. I have never been involved with the Communist Party. I am a Roosevelt ian Democrat. I believe that it is of the greatest importance that citizens take political action, in order that our nation not deteriorate.
>
> It is my conviction that special "loyalty" oaths that involve inquiry into political beliefs constitute a violation of the fundamental principle of our democracy and hence endanger our nation. . . . The protection of the secret ballot would be nullified if unscrupulous public officials were free to inquire into the political beliefs of the voters, and accordingly the citizen must be protected against inquiry into his political beliefs.
>
> In testifying before the committee, the application of the principle of freedom of political belief caused me to refuse to answer the question about membership in the Communist Party. . . .
>
> I think that there is no inconsistency in my preparing this voluntary statement and also having previously made voluntary statements about my political beliefs, and my objecting on principle to being REQUIRED to make a statement. I believe that a citizen has the right to announce his political beliefs if he desires, and that also he has the right to keep them to himself if he desires. I believe that, in order to protect our constitutional rights, everyone should refuse to permit inquiry into his political beliefs.

W. E. B. DuBois sums up the campaign

'Money buys American elections'

By W. E. B. DuBois
ALP candidate for U.S. Senator, 1950

WHEN the American Labor Party invited me by telephone to run for U.S. Senator on its ticket, I was in Paris on the way home from a World Peace Partisans bureau meeting in Prague. I laughed, because I remembered my grilling by the State Dept. when I asked for a visa to visit Czechoslovakia—a visa finally given in so restricted a form that I felt like a prisoner on parole. I was amused to think that so untrustworthy a character as I am evidently considered could add to any campaign.

But two things decided me. Since I supported the Progressive Party in 1948 and became active in the movement for peace I had been increasingly proscribed in pulpit, school, platform and publication, and this campaign would give me a chance, perhaps my last, to tell the truth as I see it. Secondly, if I could do anything to help the campaign of Vito Marcantonio, who has acted with courage, intelligence and steadfast integrity in the face of ridicule, mud-slinging and cheating, I decided to try.

I was no orator nor spellbinder, but only one who could reason with those who would listen and had brains enough to understand. I had no large group of close personal friends, and many of those I had dared not speak nor act because of real and restraining fear for their jobs. And I had no money nor moneyed friends—and anyone who thinks money does not buy American elections is a fool.

WHAT DOLLARS WILL DO: On our up-state tour from Buffalo to Albany I realized how much money and effort in halls, advertisement and personal contacts was needed to get our message over to the mass of voters. "Free" Americans slipped almost furtively into our meetings, and whispered stories of how the industries of Rochester and Syracuse threatened their workers. The press permitted us just to touch the edges of real publicity. We needed 100 workers where we had one.

Once reached even in small groups, the people were enthusiastic and listened with rapt faces. But Tom Dewey and Joe Hanley—even if they said nothing, which they often did—could talk to ten thousands while we spoke to a hundred; Sen. Lehman and his friends did not have to go hungry in order for him comfortably to cover the state.

I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the millions spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "story told by an idiot."

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
There is not one regret

NOT IN VAIN: Five million persons voted in this election; of these 4% voted for me, which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the voters stayed from the polls.

After a great social effort like the election of 1950, one must feel the let-down. Even the victors gain less than they wish, while the losers wonder if it was worth all the effort, all the worry, all the breathless disappointed hope. Yet there is a sense in which no sound effort is in vain, least of all a struggle with high ideal and personal integrity.

One feels that in the end, all of this can never be lost; that somehow, somewhere, whatever was fine and noble in this campaign will triumph; and what was vicious will remain contemptible, no matter what the returns today say. Of course I was disgusted at the re-election of an acknowledged demagogue and opportunist like Thomas Dewey as governor of the Empire State and the continued threat of his elevation to the Presidency. I was insulted to know that 2,000,000 New Yorkers wanted a petty grafter like Joe Hanley to be continued in public office. I was sorry to see Herbert Lehman—an honest man, but, because he represents finance and foreign investment, frantically backing Truman in the Korean crime which Big Business precipitated—go back to Washington to keep us in war and chains.

PEOPLE WITH COURAGE: But most of all I could not understand how a sane and intelligent electorate could reward the brave, lone fight of Vito Marcantonio with defeat. It just did not make sense, but dollars did it—just plain cash to purchase the election of as reactionary and characterless a nonentity as ever sat in Congress.

I felt as seldom before the vicious use of money to nullify democracy for selfish, dirty ends. I was astonished by a vote of 195,000—a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience; a vote from 4% of the voters of a state owned, cowed and enslaved by Big Business. These faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for Peace and Civil Rights; for this I was happy.

I had slapped no backs during the campaign which I had not slapped before; I had begged no man for his vote as a personal favor; I had asked no vote simply because I was black. It was a fine adventure. I enjoyed it.

MAX WERNER

The crisis of defense

THE UN High Command in Korea is now facing grim alternatives. It must choose either to save the army or to defend the stubborn single beach-heads. The two objectives cannot be reconciled and pursued at the same time. The UN forces can be saved only by a timely evacuation. Defense of the beach-heads can be extremely costly, with immense risk for the defenders.

The crisis of UN defense in Korea is first of all the crisis of reserves. As the Chief of the Army Staff Gen. Lawton Collins stated, only one single division in the continental U.S. can be made available for fighting, the 82nd Airborne. Three weeks is the shortest time to transport a division across the Pacific, but already in the two weeks of the Chinese-Korean offensive the crisis of UN defense has reached the peak.

THE TOLL: The strength of an army in the field depends on the balance between losses and replacements. It was reported on Wednesday that more than 14,000 wounded and weather casualties were evacuated by air from Korea. Yet some were not evacuated, and the number does not include dead and missing.

From June till about mid-November UN losses were reported at about 39,000. Thus with the beginning of the Chinese offensive casualties have jumped in a most threatening degree. As the data of wounded evacuation shows, in one week more UN men fell in Korea than in three months of the preceding fighting.

In spite of tremendous losses, the UN forces continue their stubborn defensive action, but there are strategic limits to the defensive capacity of an outnumbered army. The danger is that they might melt away in packages as the present rate of attrition comes menacingly close to a systematic annihilation.

THE CRISIS: The retreat in Korea underscores the grave crisis of Western strategy as a whole. The UN forces had all the support modern weapons can give, especially in mechanized equipment, sea and air power, with the only exception of the atomic bomb. The Chinese, however, did not have modern weapons which the pooling of resources of the Soviet bloc could have given them. They fought without air support, without tanks, with very little artillery. The UN forces could hardly have been more saturated with fire power and modern equipment. But the material strength, the power of weapons, of the Chinese army could have been increased substantially.

Even in this state of underequipment, which is certainly not the last word, the Chinese army has shown that soldier for soldier and division for division it is about equal in combat value to Western patterns, and certainly superior to any West European continental army. The experience of the campaign has glaringly revealed the military potential of Asia. Yet if in military quality China competes with the west, the western armies count altogether some 30 divisions and China some 150. It is only a small fraction of the Chinese army which in Korea exerts deadly pressure on the flower of the western armies.

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General

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CALENDAR

New York

FREDERIC MARCH and **FLORENCE ELDRIDGE** in Arthur Miller's adaptation of Ibsen's **Enemy of the People.** Broadhurst Theatre, W. 44th St. TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 26. Tickets still available: Orch. $10, $8, $7, $6. Balc. $7, $6. BENEFIT NATL. GUARDIAN. Write: Guardian Theatre Party, 17 Murray St. WO 4-1750.

FORUM ON SENSATIONAL FBI BOOK: Albert Kahn, Stetson Kennedy and Louis Boudin will talk and answer questions about Max Lowenthal's **Federal Bureau of Investigation** on Monday, Dec. 19, 8:30 p.m., at Cornish Arms Hotel, W. 23d St., between 8th and 9th Avs. Auspices Literature Division, ASP. James Aronson, GUARDIAN executive editor, will be chairman.

WHY IS TB INCREASING AT FRIGHTENING RATE among Negro and Puerto Rican New Yorkers? Hear distinguished speakers spotlight the effect of low wages, bad housing and health facilities, also Negro progress in science and medicine despite discrimination. Forum speakers: Dr. George Cannon, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Dr. Gene Weltfish, and others. ADMISSION FREE. SUN-

DAY AFTERNOON, DEC. 17, 2 p.m., Little Theatre of Harlem YMCA, 135th St. near 7th Av. Auspices: Health and Science Divisions, N. Y. Arts, Sciences and Professions.

"MUSICAL STORY," popular Soviet movie. Hear well known speakers, William Mandel, Richard Morford on the Peace Movement Today. At A. L. P., 1437 3rd Av. (81 St.). Fri. eve., Dec. 15, 8:15 p.m. Donation 60c. Auspices: Yorkville-Harlem Committee A. S. P.

Massachusetts

XMAS PARTY FOR PEACE. Personal report from Warsaw conference. Armenian-American food, dancing, entertainment. Sun., Dec. 17, 6 p.m. on. Donation 50c. SEVAN CLUB, 164 Dexter Av., Watertown. Auspices: Watertown-Belmont PP.

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Damask Table Linen from the Old World

All pure linens, beautifully figured and woven, imported from the U.S.S.R., Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Ireland. Because of the "Cold War," many of these world-famous European products are no longer available in American department stores. The GUARDIAN is able to offer its readers the following selection of exquisite, pure linens at prices lower by half than they once sold for in American stores.

Item	Description & Colors	Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
FROM RUSSIA:				
1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Peach, rose, blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, lavender,	56x68	9.50	6.00
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Green, gold, blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	White with Blue Border			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:				
6	Pure linen double damask Hemstitched, 8 matching hemstitched napkins. Cream color.	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Pure linen. Open work design. 8 matching napkins. Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	Pure linen. White double damask Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins. Floral design	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	White double damask. Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins	70x108	30.00	20.00
9a	Pure linen damask. Floral design. 12 extra large napkins. Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM BELGIUM:				
10	Rayon damask. Floral design. 8 matching napkins. Grey, cream, blue, green	64x84	18.00	14.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	Pure linen white damask. 8 matching napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
PILLOWCASES:				
12	Before hemming. Pure Irish linen. Threads drawn by hand	43x38		5.50 a pair
13	Domestic percale. No starch. Thread drawn hems	42x36		9.20 a doz.
TOWELS:				
14	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	18x24		7.50 per doz.
14a	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	16x32		6.75 per doz.
14b	Face Towels, Pure linen, Floral design	20x36		9.50 per doz.

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DOLLAR STRETCHER

Electric vs. regular blankets

WITH blankets costing more this year, and expected to go still higher as the result of the world wool shortage, an electric blanket becomes a more worthwhile investment if it's reasonably priced.

Many of the nationally-advertised brands cost $40 or more. But one well-made electric blanket is currently available at a discount large enough to bring it below the price of the two good regular blankets an electric type can replace. This is the **Lectricover,** approved by Underwriters Laboratories against shock or fire hazard. The regular retail price is $27.95, but Standard Brand Distributors (143 Fourth Ave., N.Y.C.) offers it for $22.40 plus 75c shipping cost on mail orders (no COD's accepted). Even at its regular price, the **Lectricover** is one of the most reasonable electric blankets for its quality. It's 72x84, and comes in rose, blue, cedar, geranium red, light green or hunter green.

If you prefer to stick to the regular-type blanket, note that it's not necessary to buy the most expensive all-wool grade. A blanket containing 75-80% wool is practically as warm as an all-wool one, and a little cotton adds to its durability. But a blanket with less than 25% wool might as well have none.

To judge durability, hold a blanket up to the light to see the closeness of the weave. The nap should be distributed evenly over the whole surface. Pluck at the nap to make sure it's firm.

Value in Shirts

Some manufacturers of shirts have announced higher prices to take effect this spring. There's been no general advance yet, however, since enough consumer resistance to higher prices is developing to discourage widespread price hikes so far on all but the increasingly-critical wool clothing.

As this department has pointed out before, best values in men's shirts are the private brands of the large chains like J. C. Penney, Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck, and the Spiegel mail-order catalog. One of the newest private brands that is an exceptional value these days is the **Pennleigh** shirt sold by the W. T. Grant chain stores. At $2.85, this white broadcloth shirt has 226 threads to an inch of cloth—an unusually high thread count for any shirt priced under $3.65, which is what similar-quality nationally-advertised brands cost.

Playthings for Christmas

A very good source for play materials is the Arts Co-operative Service, Inc., 340 Amsterdam Av., New York 24. The co-op's best values are in materials such as its own sets of large floor blocks, painting and block printing sets, modeling materials including the elastic plastic which doesn't stick to surfaces, rhythm instruments, weaving and loom sets.

The Arts Co-op's new catalog is available for 10 cents. Toy catalog and price list of the Household Mart (discussed here recently) may be had without charge by dropping them a card at 157 St. Nicholas Av., Brooklyn 27, N. Y.

Pots & Pocketbooks

Guardian fruitcake is back!

By Charlotte Parks

SO many requests have come in for the GUARDIAN Christmas fruitcake recipe that we will imitate history and repeat ourselves. It is inexpensive, takes no butter or eggs, is delicious and looks it. Nice texture and ideal for holiday gifts and holiday eating. Heated at the last moment it is a wonderful Christmas pudding and

with plenty of hard or brandy sauce, it's the tops.

1 lb. salt pork (finely ground)
1 pt. hot coffee
1 c sugar
1 c molasses or jam
1 tbsp. each, cloves and cinnamon
2 tbsp. cocoa
1 c chopped nuts
1 lb. chopped mixed dried fruits
1 lb. seedless raising
½ lb. dates
¼ lb. candied cherries
1 lb. chopped mixed peel
2 tsp. baking powder
1 c wine or fruit juice, or
½ c rum
flour to make stiff dough

A can of bright red pie-cherries improves the mixture if you can spend a little more. Decorate the top of the cake with candied cherries and nuts and you have the full festive touch.

THE LUCKY METHOD: There is a legend that everyone who takes part in making a fruitcake will have a year's good luck. So get everyone in the family to help prepare the fruits and nuts. It makes a happy family, even if they do "sample" a bit. Cut everything very small. If you have time, make your own candied orange, lemon and grapefruit peel. It's a big money saver and even better than the bought.

FIRST PROCESS: In a big aluminum pot or bowl, pour hot coffee over the ground salt pork. Left-over coffee will be fine. Add the other ingredients except the flour and baking powder. Let stand 12 to 24 hrs. This distributes the fruit evenly and enhances the flavor.

SECOND PROCESS: Add flour, baking powder and—if you have it—half a cup of "hard liquor." Line pan with aluminum paper (or waxed, doubled). Coffee tins are fine for baking fruitcake and the decorated covered tin boxes you get for a dime at Woolworths are just right for gifts.

Place pans in cold oven with a low flame and bake slowly 2 to 4 hours, according to size. When a knitting needle comes out clean, cakes are ready to cool. Store in tin containers. Ready to eat right away, but time enriches the flavor and they keep — if no one knows where they are hidden.

GUARDIAN BOOK SERVICE

Best picks for Xmas gifts

IMPORTANT NOTE TO READERS: Books reviewed or on our recommended list can be promptly obtained through the GUARDIAN. Help us and save shopping headaches by availing yourself of this service. Send order with remittance (price as listed plus 12c postage for each book) to Books, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

ALL QUIET IN THE KREMLIN, by George Marion (Fairplay, $3). A frank and warmly human account of the author's six months in the U.S.S.R. this year.

THE YEAR OF THE OATH, by George R. Stewart and other U. of Calif. professors (Doubleday, $2). Story of the biggest academic witch-hunt since the cold war.

THE PROUD AND THE FREE, by Howard Fast (Little, Brown, $3). Exciting, probing novel of the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolutionary War.

BETRAYAL, by Arthur D. Kahn (dist. by the author, $1.25). Personal record of the U.S. occupation of Germany by one who was there and fought for a democratic policy.

THE DEAD STAY YOUNG, by Anna Seghers (Little, Brown, $4). Heroic novel of Germany from 1918 to 1945, dramatizing and explaining today's "German problem."

MAO TSE-TUNG, by Robert Payne (Schuman, $3.50). Well-written, largely successful portrait of the world's man of the hour by a liberal British poet.

PEKING DIARY, by Derk Bodde (Schuman, $3.75). How the last phase of China's revolution looked to an honest U.S. intellectual living in Peking.

ALL HONORABLE MEN, by James Stewart Martin (Little, Brown, $3.50). Former head of Decartellization Branch in U.S.-occupied Germany gives a vitally important, fact-filled report on how Wall St. sabotaged FDR's program.

ON BEING HUMAN, by Ashley Montagu (Schuman, $1.95). An anthropologist's simple, brilliant exposition of nature's law of co-operation, now up for repeal in Washington.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM, by Leo Huberman (Monthly Review, $3). Simple, de-sloganized answers to all current fantasies about socialism and communism.

HIGH TREASON, by Albert Kahn (dist. by the author, $1). The whole story, documented and indexed, of plunder and repression in the U.S. from Harding till now.

SCOTTSBORO BOY, by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad (Doubleday, $3). Soul-searing personal history of an innocent jim-crow victim's 17 years in Dixie Dachaus.

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Wilson's ham

Wake up—you Americans in the Beauty Parlor and Saloon Set—please wake up! . . . A beautiful girl told me how her husband recently helped her escape from a satellite country — because the Russians habitually accost girls and take their clothes off.

—*N.Y. Post "Saloon Editor" Earl Wilson, sounding the alarm after a European trip.*

•

An American took me riding one night in jeep. He would drive up to a girl, grab her, hug her, kiss her, and then say "Pig!" and shove her away. He said they were all pigs.

—*From Earl Wilson's column, quoting Tennessee Williams on his visit to U. S. Zone of Vienna.*

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